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There was considerable variability in the status of household groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will. Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but there are numerous references to groups transferring from one village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

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614 773 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

614 616 Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 [424] The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan, since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

[654] The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some member of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

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to demonstrate the extent to which he had worked for the welfare of the entire village, then offered an opinion as to the wisdom of a certain act or policy. He was never demoted, the Mandan claimed; others younger who had been distinguishing themselves merely replaced the older man in public esteem. A chief's greatness was based on the length of time that his opinions were accepted to the exclusion of all others' opinions. A chief was expected to conform strictly to village and tribal custom.

The day-by-day and calendar round of economic, social, and ceremonial activities were rigidly regulated by tradition. In matters relative to gardening, the Corn Bundle leaders, Goose Society, and females of the various households set their own rules. When public sanction was given a young man by one or more members of the council of older men to perform a certain ceremony and he had made public announcement from a rooftop that he would perform the ceremony, a time was reserved for the ceremony, and the Black Mouths would have prevented any interference. The Mandan believed that quarrels should not arise over schedules for performance of the various ceremonies. The fact is that the Mandan liked to attend ceremonies and believed that bad luck would come to anyone who deviated from the normal pattern of behavior.

The responsibilities for leadership in various Mandan social and ceremonial activities were profusely scattered through the entire population. A person who would be the leader in one activity became a subordinate member of another activity in which he was expected to follow the leader's directions. For instance, when the time arrived for the performance of the Okipa ceremony, the entire population was organized around the officers for that ceremony, while the Black Mouth Society enforced the rules. It is highly improbable that the Black Mouths received any formal instruction. Custom defined the rules of behavior during the Okipa which were known by all except very young children. It was also customary when the enemy were not especially troublesome for the greater part of a village group to leave for a short time to trap eagles. The village would break up into a dozen or more camps, each of which was under the leadership of a male having an eagle-trapping bundle. Regardless of a man's status during other activities, he was subordinate to the

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leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedition under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

6. Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

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was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader would cry as he approached the village, while the other members would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be opposed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

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brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade society, would accumulate robes and other property which were given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value.

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many

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feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

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A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was celebrated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

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A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

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daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

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others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he was expected to name others with a distinguished war record to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge. A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

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tinguished man between whom there had been considerable rivalry, and he was very angry because he had pledged to give certain ceremonies and needed his wife's help to prepare the robes and food. He knew that his rival's relatives were laughing about it, for the wife's people were said to be selfish and wanted their daughter to marry a more distinguished man. If he took his wife back, he would lose face and would be laughed at during the dances when the men related their deeds of bravery. On the other hand, he could not go through the ceremony without a wife's assistance. He could have called her back to his lodge to have her painted and dressed beautifully and returned to her new husband on the best horse he could find. This would have been considered an honorable act. Instead he disappeared during the night when none would see him leaving and walked toward the Mouse River to get horses and scalps to be used in shaming his rival.

He left in the middle of the winter during the coldest part of the year and suffered a great deal from the cold while crossing the divide which separates the Missouri and Mouse rivers. Looking down from the high hills into the valley, he found a camp of Assiniboine and observed that the lodges were not closely assembled, since war parties rarely went out during the coldest part of the winter. He singled out an isolated lodge having only two occupants, a young man and his wife, and observed where their horses were taken for the night. After dark he went into the camp and selected a horse to ride back to his winter village and hid it in a suitable spot where he could reach it quickly when it was needed. When the camp was quiet, he went into the lodge, killing and scalping the young man. He did not kill the woman out of respect to his own motherless children, which fact he intended to mention when insulting his own wife after he returned.

Taking the scalp as proof of his success and riding the horse, he reached his home in two days. He rested one day during which time preparations were made for the Scalp Dance. On the second day he sent for his wife, who was obliged to come. He washed her face, dressed her in the best clothing he could find, and placed her on the horse. She cried from shame. During the Scalp Dance she was sent on horseback from the lodge to

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return to her new husband's lodge. A family having two eligible daughters invited him in to marry them. He then had help to perform the ceremonies he had pledged. Having killed an enemy when out alone far from home, he became a man of unusual distinction and was respected in council.

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When several went out and found one enemy who was killed far from home, the first to strike him painted one side of his shirt and legging black and wore one coyote tail; the second painted the shirt and leggings in the same manner and wore the coyote tail but added a red stripe to the eagle feather. The third and fourth painted only the legging black, the third one painting two stripes on the eagle feather, and the fourth painting three stripes.

There were also distinctive markings to indicate those who had struck a single enemy on different expeditions. A person striking a lone enemy could paint or decorate two ×'s on the legging, one above the knee and the other below the knee, or he could put them on the sleeve of the shirt. For the second enemy found alone and struck, he added two ×'s to either the other legging or the shirt. Crosses on both sleeves of the shirt and both leggings indicated that he had struck a lone enemy on four different war expeditions when far from the village. The Mandan interpreted "far from the village" as meaning beyond the usual hunting territory.

A coyote tail worn on the ankle signified that the wearer had struck one enemy far from home; two coyote tails signified that he had struck an enemy on two occasions or had killed and struck one enemy when out alone and far from home. When feathers of the crow or raven were attached to the coyote tail, it signified that he was also first to see the enemy.

The leader or Old Wolf was entitled to carry a scalp stick to which was attached a portion of a scalp for each scalp taken while serving as leader. He was also authorized to wear scalps on his shirt; for the first scalp, he would wear one piece on one sleeve; for the second scalp he would wear pieces on both sleeves. He wore a piece of scalp on each sleeve of the shirt and each leg of the leggings for four enemies killed on four different expeditions. He did not, however, wear feathers in his hair, paint his leggings, or wear the coyote tails unless he struck an enemy while serving as leader.

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A person striking three or more enemies was entitled to paint the entire left legging red; ordinarily, they preferred to paint the legging from the knee down, thinking it looked better. The second person striking three or more enemies painted the left legging red above the knee; the third person painted three stripes on the left legging; the fourth person painted four stripes.

It was considered a high honor to be the first person to strike an enemy in a battle during which several enemies were killed. A person winning this distinction painted three black stripes on one legging. The next three to strike the first enemy killed wore three red stripes.

It was considered even a greater honor to strike the last enemy killed. Crows Heart remarked that there was usually a good deal of confusion around the last one to fall and that it was frequently difficult to determine the order of striking. In these disputes, the leader was judge, and his men were expected to accept his decision. Anyone defying him and wearing badges of unauthorized honors was ridiculed. The first to strike wore a black double stripe the full length of one legging and four pairs of horizontal stripes. Those striking second, third, and fourth wore the four pairs of stripes only.

The four warriors striking a slain enemy woman were entitled to wear a short carved stick decorated with porcupine work and feathers in the hair but could not employ the legging or shirt decorations. The leader was entitled to wear a scalp. Striking a girl counted the same as for a woman, while a male, regardless of age, was treated the same as when striking a man.

Striking or seizing a live enemy was considered a higher honor than striking one who had been killed. If, during battle, a warrior was able to seize an enemy, he was entitled to paint or tatoo two hands on the breast. Crows Heart remembered a Mandan who wore eight hands to signify that he had seized an enemy on four occasions and held him until either he or his party could kill him. A man riding a horse over an enemy, knocking him down, could paint a hand on each side of the horse's chest. A man shot in battle could wear a stick with a knot carved in it and painted red. A man first reporting an enemy tepee was entitled to wear the white wing feathers of the swan in his hair, and the first to see smoke from an enemy's tepee wore a section

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of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

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MATURITY AND MIDDLE AGE

A man was considered to have reached maturity when, several years after his first marriage, he had assumed most of the responsibility of providing meat for the household and had taken over important ceremonial duties. Marriage introduced him to a new set of relatives with a new pattern of behavior in his daily associations with them. Marriage also introduced his wife to new sets of relations as well as new ceremonial relatives.

By the time a young man had reached maturity, he would normally have advanced through at least three age-grade societies. Except for the first society which was owned by the young preadolescent boys, the buyer was expected to bring his wife to the transfer ceremonies. She was expected to give assistance in the preparation of the food and goods used during the society transfer. A man's ceremonial "father" from whom he received paraphernalia and instructions in the lore and rites of the society was a ceremonial "grandfather" to the wife and was entitled to have "intercourse" with her during the transfer ceremonies. The men's societies all followed a common pattern when being transferred. The sellers individually selected young men, not more than four in number and whose fathers were of the seller's clan, to sponsor during the transfer ceremonies. He had the necessary clothing and equipment prepared for his "sons" and gave them individual instructions prior to the meeting of the two groups representing the sellers and buyers.

The sellers addressed the buyers collectively as "sons," who in turn addressed the sellers as "fathers." All the wives of the buyers were addressed by the sellers as "granddaughters." A man's social status grew in proportion to the number of societies he had owned at one time or another and was especially enhanced if he had kept the same wives who assisted him in all his society purchases. Those who had enjoyed the loyalty of their wives while making many society purchases were especially regarded because they continued the same "father-son" relationship independent of the societies afterward. Crows Heart frequently referred to occasions in later years when he had invited in the men who acted as his sponsors when buying into a society and had given them a meal and little presents.

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A man's social status at any one period varied greatly between individuals. It was in part determined by birth, those being born in households having important bundles and a well-balanced household economy and, particularly if there were many brothers and sisters, had a great advantage over those whose households had been broken up by death or divorce. Children of eminent parents were presumed to be better informed than those who had lived from lodge to lodge.

Upon reaching maturity, a man's role in the total ceremonial life of the village and tribe was largely determined by his previous participations in ceremonies. This role followed a generalized tribal pattern which varied little from generation to generation unless unusual situations occurred such as epidemics or severe losses in warfare. A man would usually fast less when he reached maturity, but he would fast if he considered the situation warranted it until he reached old age. If he had bad luck while leading a war expedition, his fasting would often be long. He would even lash his legs with a knife and cut off portions of fingers. When a man was poor or received few presents during the ceremonies or secular dances, he would often fast to draw the attention of the village to his poverty. The people would say that he is fasting to bring good luck to the village and that he was entitled to rewards for his generosity. There was considerable rivalry between individuals, and this was expressed in a number of ways. For instance, when the winter buffalo herds were late in arriving at their grazing grounds along the streams near the villages, the people would suffer considerably from a meat shortage. One who had felt that he had been neglected and had not been receiving appropriate recognition would announce that, when the weather became severe, he would go out and fast on the hills to bring the buffaloes. The village would recognize that fasting under such conditions was a distinct sacrifice. Since the cold weather and storms would cause the buffaloes to seek the sheltered sections along the Missouri River bottoms, one announcing that he would fast during the coldest days when the wind was from the north would time his fasting to coincide with the normal first arrival of the winter herds. Such a person was said to place the welfare of the village above consideration for his personal comfort and

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554 785 received goods in abundance from people of the village, particularly persons of his children's clan.

554 785 789 Since the Mandan lived in a territory of uncertain rainfall, the crops were frequently endangered by drought. There were formal rainmaking ceremonies, but these frequently failed to bring rain. A man would frequently announce that he was fasting on a certain day to bring the rains. If rains came before the fasting began, he received credit for them and was paid generously for his services. When the rains had not come on the day when fasting was to begin, he would go to some designated spot to fast, singing his holy songs while watching the sky for the approaching clouds, which he would endeavor to direct toward the gardens. Anyone could fast to bring rains to the gardens or buffaloes near the village, but in general these extra rites were performed by persons lacking formal tribal bundles and were people who felt that they had not received proper recognition for their successes in warfare, horse-stealing, or in finding the buffalo herds. They had little to lose; failing to bring buffaloes or rain, they were thought none the less of for their failure and were praised if they succeeded.

785 There was a certain amount of fasting when bad luck persisted. When on eagle-trapping expeditions, some men would catch eagles while others did not. One who had been especially lucky would volunteer the use of his pit to one who had failed to catch birds. If the latter's bad luck persisted, he would fast and even have thongs inserted through his skin for dragging buffalo skulls.

224 554 788 There was a certain degree of specialization of males in a Mandan village. Those who had acquired an aptitude of finding the buffalo herds were relied upon for their good judgment in supervising the summer buffalo-hunting expeditions. Even those who eventually attained the status of leader were expected to attain that position by degrees. He was first taken out as scout to assist in locating the herds and later as leader of the hunters when he was expected to perform simple rites immediately before the attack was made on the herd. He would pray to the buffaloes not to send the party bad luck, and, when the surround had been made, he would make an offering of sage and feathers from the speckled eagle to the buffaloes by tying

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the offerings to the horns of some weathered buffalo skull found conveniently near by. If a horse fell into a washout, stepped into a badger hole and injured its rider, or was gored by a buffalo, the leader was said to have "kicked the stone" and was usually never selected again unless he fasted sufficiently to receive the forgiveness of the aggrieved parties.

As leader of the hunters, he was expected to make successful surrounds without losing his men from accident. Having been successful on many surrounds, it was believed that he was lucky and had sacred objects that were protecting him and his party. He was then eligible to become the leader of a future summer buffalo-hunting party.

A man's responsibilities increased greatly as the leader of the summer buffalo-hunting party. His selection was made in council held a month before the village was to leave for the summer hunt. The principal men of the village met to consider the matter of a leader. Crows Heart claimed that all who had been lucky in warfare or in leading the hunters aspired to be the summer buffalo-hunt leader at least once in their lifetime. The leader was selected from those who had buffalo skulls as a part of their sacred bundles. These skulls became a part of bundles either through purchase of a hereditary bundle or, more rarely, were introduced into a bundle when vision instructed. It was necessary to have unanimous consent of the head men to become leader, and the appointment was for only one expedition away from the village. A change was usually made for subsequent hunts on the former leader's recommendation, as it was believed that one would have bad luck if he led too many hunts. When a selection had been made, the crier for the Black Mouth Society[1] went through the village announcing the decision.

The leader consulted the village chief in matters relative to preparation of the equipment and the leaders of war parties relative to the protection of the party which would comprise the entire population except a few feeble people who preferred to visit in a neighboring village while the party was away. The women first weeded and hilled their garden crops while the men prepared the dog and horse equipment. While preparations for the summer hunt were being completed, scouts were sent

[1] [The men's society intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. See pp. 94-95, Cat. 116.—Analyst]

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This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success.

Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made.

Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to

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the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

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773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
571 in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
554 his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
701 which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

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to the performers, or one who had given the ceremony could volunteer. Men giving the ceremony more than once were highly respected. Four Bears gave the ceremony a second time even after he had already become second chief.

Though the ceremony was long, candidates offering to perform the Okipa were acquainted with most of the songs, dances, and prayers beforehand, so the task of instructing the candidate did not require a great deal of time. Since most young men hoped that sometime they would be selected to be a Bull Dancer, they noted carefully the role performed by the Bulls.

It took a great deal of courage to become an Okipa Maker, and the tribe spoke of those who had done so as the bravest men and looked to them for leadership. It required a considerable amount of property to give the Okipa, for the giver was expected to prepare feasts for the officers of the Okipa during the time he received instructions. He was expected to have at least one hundred articles consisting of robes, elkskin dresses, dress goods, shirts with porcupine work, knives, and men's leggings. Usually one family could not acquire so much personal property.

The Okipa Maker's wives began to gather clothing as soon as permission was granted their husband to direct the ceremony, which was usually a year in advance. The women called in their female relatives, and sometimes their women's societies helped them. The man asked help of his mothers and sisters as well as the members of his own and his father's clan. As a last resort, he gave a clan feast which all the members of his clan attended. There would be speeches about clan loyalty, and the old men would tell of the great men of the tribe who belonged to their clan and how "this young man has brought honor to us by offering to give the Okipa." Each speech would end with an appeal for goods of some sort to be used in the coming summer ceremony "which was, after all, given for our benefit." People gave freely for the benefit of a clan brother.

Each family of the tribe felt itself to be benefited by the summer Okipa ceremony and expected to give something. The Okipa Maker took his pipe to each lodge where people of his clan lived, placing it before the door, and the women brought out their contributions. Okipa Makers able to produce a large

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number of robes and other clothing to be given away were especially highly respected by the tribe.

The Okipa Maker was not permitted to kill any buffaloes or to do any butchering during the period he was under pledge to give the Okipa, nor was he permitted to eat any of the entrails from the buffalo. It was believed to have done so would have angered the buffaloes.

One of the oldest men of the WaxhikEna clan lived in the Okipa lodge with his family. He was custodian of such ceremonial objects as might be kept there to be used in succeeding Okipa ceremonies. When the time came to prepare for the ceremony, the NumakmaxEna gave instructions that the lodge be cleared of all the family's personal effects. Four men with Holy Women bundle rights swept the floor, carried out the ashes, and sprinkled the floor to settle the dust, after which sage was scattered about on the floor. Each received a robe from the Okipa Maker for his services. No women were permitted to go inside the lodge after it was cleaned until the ceremony had ended.

The one who was to represent Lone Man asked four men owning ceremonial bundles of The Woman Above (Sun ceremony) to paint the interior of the lodge.[9] At the last performance of the Okipa, the entire interior of the earth lodge was painted, the west half being black and the east half red. Formerly, only a narrow band about four inches wide was painted on each post, black on the west posts and red on the east ones. Woman Above bundle-owners each received a robe for painting the posts.

Opening the Okipa lodge.—When all was ready, the crier (the old man of WaxikEna clan living in the medicine lodge) went through the village before daylight announcing that the Lone Man would open the Okipa lodge the next morning at sunrise in order that the ceremony could be given. The head chief,[10] second chief,[11] council of old men, and all the owners of important tribal bundles painted their faces black and went to the head

9. There were only three Woman Above bundle-owners when the last performance was held, and one of these belonged to a woman, Calf Woman. The two other owners, Ears and Clam Necklace, painted the lodge with the assistance of two Hidatsa men owning similar bundles.

10. Red Buffalo Corn was head chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

11. Bad Gun was second chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

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lage, during marches in summer buffalo hunting, in eagle-trapping camps, or at the winter camp. This was the most common type of self-torture, since it was easier to induce a dream from the buffaloes. Human-skull circles were considered desirable places to fast for those who were making offerings of flesh or fingers to the Sun. Skull circles which had been prepared by owners of People Above bundles (the Sun, Moon, and their mother being the principal supernatural beings represented in those bundles) were considered particularly desirable.

The number of times one had fasted or inflicted self-torture was as much a part of one's record as the number of enemy killed or struck in battle, and both were related during ceremonial feasts. Those who had given the Okipa were especially respected, since the torturing of the Okipa Maker was even more severe than for the other fasters. There was the added fact that the Okipa Maker had sacrificed so much property that at the termination of the ceremony his family was entirely destitute and remained so until those who felt obligated to lend assistance sent help. Every normal male inflicted self-torture several times during early manhood. Everyone was expected to fast and be tortured at least once during the Okipa ceremony, although some were tortured annually for a number of years. Broken Ax, a Mandan, gave the Okipa eight times, and not once did he have a dream. He gave the ceremony, not from vision instruction, but because no others had dreamed of the Okipa.

Crows Heart told of instances when men fasted outside at night during the coldest weather. They would tie a lariat to a stake driven into the bank and call men of the father's clan to insert the thongs. They would hang over the bank until their clan fathers feared for their lives and brought them into camp. Others would remove all their clothing and walk around camp until nearly frozen.

Calf Woman told of an instance of a man dying as a result of fasting. She said, "People don't get visions every time they fast and don't expect to. Even though the gods send no instructions, they show their appreciation by sending good luck. Black Body, the husband of Turtle Woman who is still living, started for Saddle Butte to fast but decided to fast at the river instead. He fixed himself a place to fast and rolled up in his blanket. During

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Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil.

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for-

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mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numakmaxena bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

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not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts.

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in

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796 778 554 buying their father's Holy Woman bundle, learned to bring down the spirits in a sleight-of-hand act, learned how to find lost articles, and had every god pertaining to corn as his personal guardian. Poor Wolf (Awaxawi) acquired Earthmaking, River, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Imitating Buffalo, Painted Red Stick, and Eagle-trapping bundles. Both were singers in the Women's Goose societies. For twenty years these two men were rivals because Poor Wolf acquired the Skull bundle which legitimately should have gone to Moves Slowly. When this rivalry ended, no other men owned rights in so many ceremonies as these men. Poor Wolf consolidated the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle and River bundle with the Skull bundle for the Corn ceremonies, but the others were kept separate. Moves Slowly did likewise. Moves Slowly had the right to give out seed in the Spring Fertility ceremony, but Poor Wolf could not do this, since Bear Looks Around had failed to buy that right of Red Bird, and there were none to purchase from except Moves Slowly, whose price no doubt would have been high to a rival. Moves Slowly enjoyed exclusive authority in the Spring Fertility rites of distributing sacred seed corn, two kernels being given to each women, who paid him for thus assuring her that the seed she planted would germinate.

During middle age these two men worked hard and were poor in material wealth, since it took all they could acquire to perform the bundle transfers, but their wealth measured in social status and ceremonial lore grew until each became an authority on the traditional history of his respective group. Both were selected as village or peace chiefs of their respective tribes.

796 778 4. *Sacred pot ceremonies.*[5]—Two large clay pots were a part of the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony at Nuptadi Village when that group lived above Burnt Creek on the east side of the Missouri River. The information that reached Scattercorn through her father indicated that the ceremony was one of rainmaking. People would pay to have the ceremony given, at which time the pots were taken out. These pots were said to have been given to the Nuptadi by Old Woman Who Never Dies with the understanding that, whenever they were used, her image would

5. See my "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" for an account of the Hidatsa version of this ceremony.

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1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village.

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village.

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony.

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age,

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ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo.

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century.

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died.

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of

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sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

In summary, the above report covers the main features of the Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

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223 the pit where it was dispatched and the hunter waited for an-
171 other. This method was also used by the Hidatsa, and so in fact nearly all the Mandan hunting methods and customs were duplicated among their neighbors. The only important exception was the Mandan custom of giving a share of the meat to anyone who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it. Henry tells us that the Hidatsa and Amahami did not have this charitable custom.

721 WAR:— Among most of the Indians, war was the chief occupation of the men, and the Mandans in this respect differed little from the other tribes. They were constantly in danger from their more numerous enemies, the Dakotas, and in addition frequently had disputes with other smaller bands. The Mandans were not a warlike people, and fought only when necessary; but when the time came they were among the bravest and most fearless warriors of the region. Maximilian says that they had been known to send war parties as far as the Rocky Mountains against the Blackfeet and as far east as the Red River against the Ojibwa. Their chief enemies were, however, the Dakota, the Cheyenne, and at times the Arikara. The custom of sending out war parties was not as usual here as among
721 their neighbors, the Hidatsa. The system of rank in the village
● 554 was to a considerable extent based upon military prowess;
301 the wearing of different insignia which indicated each man's
302 deeds was a common device. Those who had made a coup wore a wolf's tail at the heel of their moccasin. If a man was the first of a party to touch and kill an enemy, he painted a spiral line about his arm, with another winding in the opposite direction with three cross stripes. For the second enemy he painted his left legging a reddish brown. If he killed an enemy in equal fight before any other enemy was slain, he could put a wolf's tail around each foot. For the third coup two lengthwise stripes with three cross stripes were painted on the arm, this was the most honorable coup and no other distinctive marks were in use, except that another eagle feather might be worn in the hair for each additional coup. If a man made his coup after others were made, the end of the wolf's tail was cut off. Six little wooden sticks worn in the hair showed that a man

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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners.

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded.

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months.

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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purely lunar one. Some record was kept of the years, a certain symbol of some distinctive event standing for each year on the record robe, the same system used by the Dakotas. The year was divided as follows:

January	Moon	of seven cold days.
February	"	" the rut of wolves.
March	"	" sore eyes.
April	"	" game; or of the river break-up.
May	"	" sowing; or of flowers.
June	"	" ripe june-berries.
July	"	" ripe choke-cherries.
August	"	" ripe wild plums.
September	"	" ripe corn.
October	"	" the fall of leaves.
November	"	" the freezing rivers.
December	"	" the little cold.

The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people, more so than any of their neighbors according to Henry. Food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honor, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. If one expressed a desire for anything it was immediately given to him but a present of equal value was expected in return. In connection with this might be mentioned the custom of taking back a sale; by a return of the purchase price a man might regain anything which he had sold, whenever he wished to.

The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verendrye speaks particularly of his kind reception and says, "Their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away."[1] Even their worst enemy when once in their village had nothing to fear and was treated with all kindness. Henry remarked that the Mandans were thieves but never touched any property of a stranger who was a guest in a lodge. They were bound to protect any stranger, even an enemy who might seek refuge in the village.

[1] Op. cit., p. 15.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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under two years old. These hides were worth ten to fifteen horses or sixty ordinary robes. No man could be of great importance in the tribe unless he had at one time owned one of them. Immediately on its acquisition the hide was hung up on a pole before the owner's lodge and consecrated to the Lord of Life, the sun, or the First Man. The ceremony of consecration was rather elaborate and was conducted by the shaman. A great mass of valuables, the collection of three or four years, was also offered or given away at the same time. The robe was either left suspended until it rotted away, or was taken down and cut into strips, one of which was worn by each member of the owner's family.

The Mandans seem to have had something in the nature of shrines and sacred images both natural and artificial. First among the artificial ones might be mentioned the Ark or Big Canoe which has already been described. This formed the central figure for most of the Mandan ceremonial dances. There was also the image of Ochkih-Hedde which hung before the medicine lodge; and there were similar images hanging before nearly every one of the other lodges, these were made of skin, branches and earth[1] and were intended to represent the Lord of Life and the First Man. Other shrine-like structures were built on the prairie. One of these is described by Maximilian.[2] "... Four poles are placed in a square, the two front ones garnished at the base with a pile of earth and sod. Between them are four buffalo skulls in a row, between the two back poles are twenty-six human skulls painted partly with red stripes, behind the whole are two knives fixed in the ground. The poles are surmounted by bundles of branches; on these again is a crest of pieces of sharp wood, the ends painted red. ... Sometimes on two of the poles are tied stuffed figures to represent the sun and moon, or the Lord of Life and the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Wild absinthe (wormwood) is attached by handfuls to the poles." These are probably the same things which Catlin mentions in connection with the burial customs.

Chief among the natural shrines was the medicine rock of

[1] Maximilian: p. 444. [2] Ibid., p. 460.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 293 [302] Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 726 554 533 535 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!" This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō 'watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 626 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatä (Ascho'-O'chatä). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen members of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

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each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek, near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

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When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it).

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Menis-Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Manitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a

[1] [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. 116, pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

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Such a
301 necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will
[435] not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of necklaces, such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' teeth, for 100 or 150 of
291 which they will, in exchange, give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally
302 wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboins, Sioux,
301 Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and north-west, are seldom used among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents, or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the body, under their buffalo robe. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown colour, on some occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is, for the most part, painted all over with vermilion, or yellow, in which latter case the circumference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands, in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly fine, the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavours to find out some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires
● [554] and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom, the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from the merchants; often they wear many brass rings on their fingers, and are, on the whole, excessively fond of ornaments and finery. The chief article of their dress is the ample buffalo robe, called mahita, or mih-aha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards. They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads, often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The centre is frequently red, surrounded with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band is worked with variously dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is now old-fashioned, and was worn before the coloured glass beads were obtained in such numbers
532 from the Whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, especially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black, or in gay colours, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horse-shoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The

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nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more carefully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

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by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when any one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, and give up their wives every night to the sellers, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes.

The third class or band is that of the soldiers, the most eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin, to which owl's feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colours in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers (see second woodcut, page 256). They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikué or rattle is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may, at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting, and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken.

If, during this time, any one fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The Whites living in the neighbourhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the woodcutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffaloes might not be disturbed by the noise.

The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance a large cap of coloured cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's, and owl's feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse-hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's, and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all the three kinds of feathers are mixed together.

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The three men before-mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if any one throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, "There, dog, eat," to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikué of this band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe. (Plate XXIII.)

The fifth band is that of the buffaloes. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the bravest of all, who thenceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with the horns, which they set on their heads (Plate XVIII.), and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of bighorn leather, and colours her face with vermilion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, &c. (Plate XVIII.)

The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water round to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear round their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, &c.

All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another village, to ask a friend or companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the evenings of the dance, gives up his wives for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits, are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Manitaries, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favour, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, brings articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., which she lays, piece by piece, before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

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This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

4: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 281 [435] nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Mauitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and, sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Mauitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

554 224 [435] [136] 778 796

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippa, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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292 cept the dignitaries who are very high in authority, and whose exceeding valour, worth, and power is admitted by all the nation.

292 He may wear them, however, who is not a *chief*; but a brave, or warrior of such remarkable character, that he is esteemed universally in the 554 tribe, as a man whose "voice is as loud in council" as that of a chief of the first grade, and consequently his *power* as great.

This head-dress with horns is used only on certain occasions, and they are very seldom. When foreign chiefs, Indian agents, or other important personages visit a tribe; or at war parades, at the celebration of a victory, at public festivals, &c. they are worn; but on no other occasions—unless, sometimes, when a chief sees fit to lead a war-party to battle, he decorates his head with this symbol of power, to stimulate his men; and throws himself into the foremost of the battle, inviting his enemy to concentrate their shafts upon him.

The horns on these head-dresses are but loosely attached at the bottom, so that they easily fall back or forward, according as the head is inclined forward or backward; and by an ingenious motion of the head, which is so slight as to be almost imperceptible—they are made to balance to and fro, and sometimes, one backward and the other forward like a horse's ears, giving a vast deal of expression and force of character, to the appearance of the chief who is wearing them. This, reader, is a remarkable instance (like hundreds of others), for its striking similarity to *Jewish customs*, to the kerns (or keren, in Hebrew), the horns worn by the Abysinian chiefs and Hebrews, as a *symbol of power* and command; worn at great parades and celebrations of victories.

080 "The false prophet Zedekiah, made him horns of iron" (1 Kings xxii. 11). "Lift not your horns on high; speak not with a stiff neck" (Ps. lxxv. 5).

This last citation seems so exactly to convey to my mind the mode of raising and changing the position of the horns by a motion of the head, as I have above described, that I am irresistibly led to believe that this custom is now practiced amongst these tribes very nearly as it was amongst the Jews; and that it has been, like many other customs of which I shall speak more in future epistles, handed down and preserved with very little innovation or change from that ancient people.

292 The reader will see this custom exemplified in the portrait of Mah-to-554 toh-pa (PLATE 64). This man, although the second chief, was the only man in the nation who was allowed to wear the horns; and all, I found, looked upon him as the leader, who had the power to lead all the warriors in time of war; and that, in consequence of the extraordinary battles which he had fought.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161